3:Gough E-4, 5 (1947-1949)1961 AWll Kerala AWll
North Kerala Nayar

Nayar: North Kerala

The Nayars of North Kerala live between the Chandragiri and the Kora rivers. This area lay north of the Calicut kingdom and had been conquered by the Kolattiri kings at some period before the fourteenth century (Logan, 1951, I: 283; Innes, 1908: 57). It then disintegrated into the small kingdoms of Kolattunad, Kottayam, and Kadattunad. North Kerala was invaded from the Bednur kingdom of South Canara in the 1730's. It was later occupied by Muslim armies from Mysore between 1766 and 1792, after which it passed under British rule (Logan, 1951, I: 360, 399–473). This account deals with conditions before 1760, so far as these are known, and with the major changes of the nineteenth century.

Ecology

The mountains approach nearer to the sea in North Kerala than in Central Kerala. There are fewer stretches of lowland suitable for wet-rice cultivation, and gardens of fruits, nuts, vegetables, and spices on hillsides are more extensive. Since rice was the main subsistence crop, population density was lower than in Central Kerala. The houses of a village (*dēsam*) were scattered in gardens on hillsides surrounding a wet-rice flat in a valley. Villages were often separated by three to six miles of uncultivated scrub or jungle. Until the Mysoreans built roads after the 1760's, transport and communication by narrow mountain paths were difficult, especially in the heavy monsoons.

North Kerala had four major ports during the period of European trade—Cannanore, Tellicherry, Mahé, and Badagara (Hamilton, ed. 1727: 369–371). Pepper and other spices were exported from inland villages probably from Roman times, but villages were virtually self-sufficient for food until the mid-eighteenth century. After that time the Mysoreans' roads permitted greater import of goods both from the coast and from Mysore, and greater spatial mobility. In the nineteenth century cash-crop farming for export increased, as did imports of

6:Fawcett G-5 (ca. 1900)1915
AWll Kerala AWll
Nayar

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[821]

lucky moment for the setting out on this particular occasion on the last day's stage of the journey was at the rising of the constellation of Aquarius.

"The *Tirunâvâyi* temple stands on the north bank of the Ponnâni river close to the present line of railway. Passengers by train can catch a glimpse of it by looking across the level expanse of paddy-fields which lie south of the sixth telegraph post on the three hundred and eighty-second mile of the railway. There is a modest clump of trees on the river bank hiding the temple, the western gateway of which faces a perfectly straight piece of road a little over half a mile in length stretching from the temple gateway westwards to the elevated ridge hemming in the paddy-fields on the west. This road is but little raised above the level of the paddy flat. Directly facing this straight piece of road as the elevated ridge is reached there are three or perhaps four terraces, the outlines of which may still be traced in the face of the precipitous bank. [491]

"A little to one side of the upper terrace are the ruins of a strongly built powder magazine, and on the flat ground above and on both sides of the fine avenue shading the public road at this place is ample space for the erection of temporary houses.

"In a neighbouring enclosure under cultivation is a disused well of fine proportions and of most solid construction. [312]

"From the upper terrace alluded to a commanding view is obtained facing eastwards of the level rice-plain at foot, of the broad placid river on the right backed by low hills, of higher flat-topped laterite plateaus on the left, their lower slopes bosomed in trees, and, in the far distance, of the great chain of Western Ghâts with the Nilgiris in the extreme left front hardly distinguishable in their proverbial colour from the sky above them. It was on this spot, on a smooth plateau of hard laterite rock, raised some 30 to 40 feet above the plain, that the Zamorin used several times in the course of the festival to take his stand with the sword of Chêramân Perumâl, the last emperor, in his hand. [133]

"The sword is and has been for centuries, slowly rusting away in its scabbard, but it is not alone on it that the Zamorin depends for his safety, for the plain below him is covered with the 30,000 Nâyars of Ernâd, the 10,000 of Polanâd and numberless petty dependent chieftains, each counting his fighting men by the hundred or the thousand or by thousands. Away on the right across the river are the camps of the second prince of the Zamorin's family and of the dependent Punnattûr Raja; the third, fourth, fifth, and sixth princes' camps too are close at hand in the left front behind the temple, and behind the terrace itself is the Zamorin's camp. [701]

"The whole scene is being made gay with flags as an elephant is being formally caparisoned with a chain of solid gold

11: India G-4, 5 (1960-1961) 1962 AWll Kerala AWll

Cashewnut industry, by the very nature of the process involved, does not require much of capital equipment. Although the average size of cashewnut factories is about 400 workers per unit, capital requirements in the industry hardly exceed Rs. 200 per worker. Even the coir and cotton textile factories in Kerala use only the handlooms. Existence of handlooms within the precincts of textile factories is, in fact, a unique phenomenon in Kerala (especially the Malabar region). Only a dozen out of over 300 textile factories use modern equipment. Nowhere else in India can this be seen.

1.46 The contrast between a well-developed primary sector and a backward industrial sector is also brought out by comparative wage statistics for the two sectors. It has already been pointed out that in spite of a high degree of unemployment in the agricultural sector, the wage rates and average household earnings, though low, do not compare very unfavourably with the average for all-India. On the other hand, the average annual earnings of workers in factories covered by the Payment of Wages Act are only Rs. 736 per worker. As may be seen from the table below, this figure is one of the lowest in the whole of India.

AVERAGE ANNUAL EARNINGS OF FACTORY EMPLOYEES, 1956

	Rs.
Andhra	595
Assam	1,526
Bihar	1,236
Bombay	1,415
Madhya Pradesh	982
Madras	950
Orissa	947
Punjab	991
Uttar Pradesh	1,014
West Bengal	1,142
KERALA	736

SOURCE: *Statistical Abstract of India* (1957-58).

Overhead Facilities

1.47 In respect of overhead facilities, Kerala is fortunately better placed than many other parts of India. This has been the result of a progressive policy followed by the Governments of the erstwhile States of Travancore and Cochin, whose rulers took an active interest in the development of various public amenities and tried to attract industrialists from other parts of India to invest in Kerala.

1.48 In the sphere of transport, the coverage of Railways is rather limited, total route mileaghe being only 543 miles. This is, however, more than compensated by the wide network of roadways, which in spite of its many drawbacks, is superior to that in most other parts of India. The extent of road mileage per 100 square miles as well as the vehicle density in Kerala are the highest in the country. Road transport is, in general, more suited to conditions prevailing in Kerala than Railways because of the uneven nature of the terrain.

[P. 66]

MAP 8

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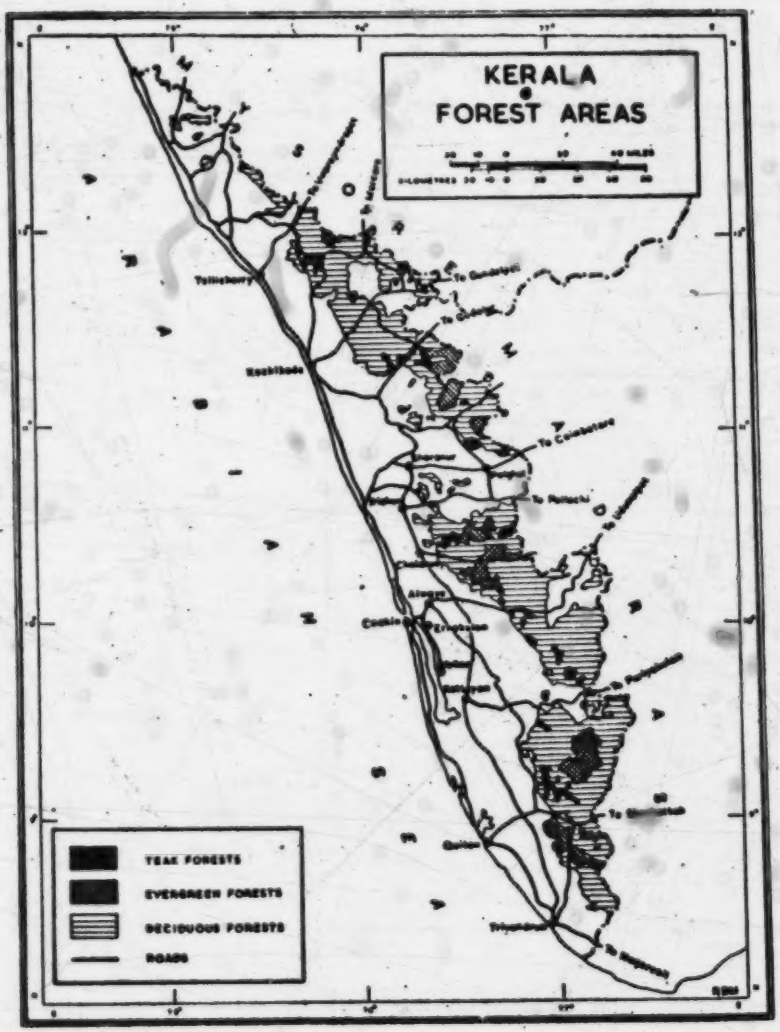


11: India G-4,5 (1960-1961) 1962 AWll Kerala AWll

Transport

5.46 The entire coastline of Kerala is well served by the railways. From Trivandrum to Kayankulam and from Tirur to Manjeswar, a total distance of 220 miles, the tracks are only two to three miles from the sea coast. In addition, there is a motorable road running almost all along the entire coastline. Head loads, bicycles, motor lorries, all these modes are employed for the transportation of fish to the markets depending on the distance of the landing sites from the consuming centres.

5.47 The State Fisheries Department operates four insulated vans. In addition, the Department operates two insulated carrier boats, one from Cochin and the other from Azhikode. These boats transport iced-fish through the inland waters to the interior places. For the marketing of fish in the interior areas, the Indo-Norwegian Project operates eight refrigerated vans.

5.48 It is estimated that the State will require about 60 road vehicles and 20 carrier vessels during the next 10 years. The capital expenditure on these is expected to be about Rs. 40 lakhs, of which Rs. 15 lakhs would be required during the Third Plan. The trucks and carrier vessels should, as far as possible, be owned and operated by Fishermen's Cooperative Societies. Expansion of insulated wagon facilities on the railways will be equally necessary. Insulated wagons should be provided on routes connecting the major production centres with the consumption centres.

Marketing

5.49 The marketing of fish in Kerala is not well organized. At present it is controlled by a few moneylenders and fish merchants. The fishermen are very poor and have generally to depend on borrowings during the off season. A departmental survey reveals that in 1958 the fishermen in Kerala had total assets of only about Rs. 30 lakhs against a total debt of Rs. 135 lakhs. Only a small percentage of the fishermen in Kerala own the boats and nets they use. Most of them work as employees under few boat-owner fishermen. In the pay-off period the boat-owner advances small amounts to the fishermen for their day-to-day needs. The catch is auctioned at the landing centres. The bidders include the fish curers, the retailers and lorry owners, who generally supply fish to the retailers.

5.50 Fish prices fluctuate considerably even in the course of the day. Fish is never weighed in the market. They are measured by standards such as heap, basket, and number, and these vary from market to market. The important wholesale fish markets in the State are located at Trivandrum, Kottayam, Tonur, Trichur, Kozhikode, Alwaye, Changanacherry and Athirumpuzha.

5.51 Changanacherry, Athirumpuzha and Vaniyankulam are the most important markets for cured and salted fish. In the coastal areas the consumption of dried fish is confined mostly to the off-season when fishing totally stops. In the interior of the State, owing to lack of transport facilities, cured fish is sold for the major part of the year. The State has a number of retail fish markets, every town or a group of villages having at least one.

5.52 Fish marketing in Kerala requires a great deal of improvement, both

11: India G-4, 5 (1960-1961) 1962 AW11 Kerala AW11

8.13 The programme of investment in the rail facilities in the State was estimated to cost Rs. 1.015 crores during the Second Plan. Till early 1960 it seems only about one-third (34.3 %) of this amount had been spent. Major items of expenditure were on re-railing of track in the Shoranur-Calicut section, provision of metre gauge facilities at Cochin harbour and conversion of a number of stations into crossing stations and improvements therein. But progress was not substantial on account of non-arrival of materials, etc. Line capacity works were undertaken on the Punalur-Quilon section, increasing the number of trains from 11 to 12 and the net ton miles by 1.24 million. Additional loops were provided at Calicut, which helped to reduce detention of trains at adjacent stations. Additional platforms, goods sheds and marshalling yards were provided at Quilon to receive and assist the traffic on the new metre gauge link with Ernakulam. Engineering and traffic surveys for a new line from Tellicherry to Mangalore *via* Coorg were completed. Proposals relating to alignments between Trivandrum and Tirunelveli *via* Nagercoil and Cape Comorin are stated to be under consideration of the Railway Board.

ROAD NETWORK

8.14 The total road mileage in the State at 10,739 miles (Table 38) exceeds the figure of the mileage calculated in accordance with the Nagpur Plan Formula. The State has 71.6 miles for 100 square miles, as against 26 miles, derived from the Nagpur Plan Formula. However, the road system is not without certain shortcomings, such as those resulting from the uneven distribution of the total mileage among different districts and regions of the State (Table 39): Calicut district and, in a lesser degree, Trichur district have fared rather poorly whether judged in relation to the extent of area served or mileage per 100,000 of population. There are considerable regional disparities between Malabar and Travancore-Cochin.[1] While the former has 61.9 miles of road per 100 square miles of area and 73.5 miles of road per 100,000 of population, the corresponding figures for the latter are 79.6 and 65.2 miles respectively. The area north of Alwaye-Munnar road presents an unsatisfactory situation in respect of road mileage. As Malabar is also relatively not so well-endowed in respect of inland water transport communications the comparative deficiency of road mileage is all the more significant in this area.

8.15 A number of factors reduce at present the maximum economic usefulness of the State's comparatively high road mileage. Among these may be mentioned (*a*) the absence of bridges on many roads (*b*) the weakness of existing culverts and bridges (*c*) poor surfacing (*d*) narrow width even on high traffic density routes (e.g. Trichur-Vadakkancheri, Malapuram-Hitchcock memorial in Calicut) (*e*) tortuous alignments, e.g., along Aroor-Ernakulam route (*f*) delays to traffic owing to reliance on road-cum-rail bridge (Ankamali-Trichur section of the Highway) and (*g*) saturation

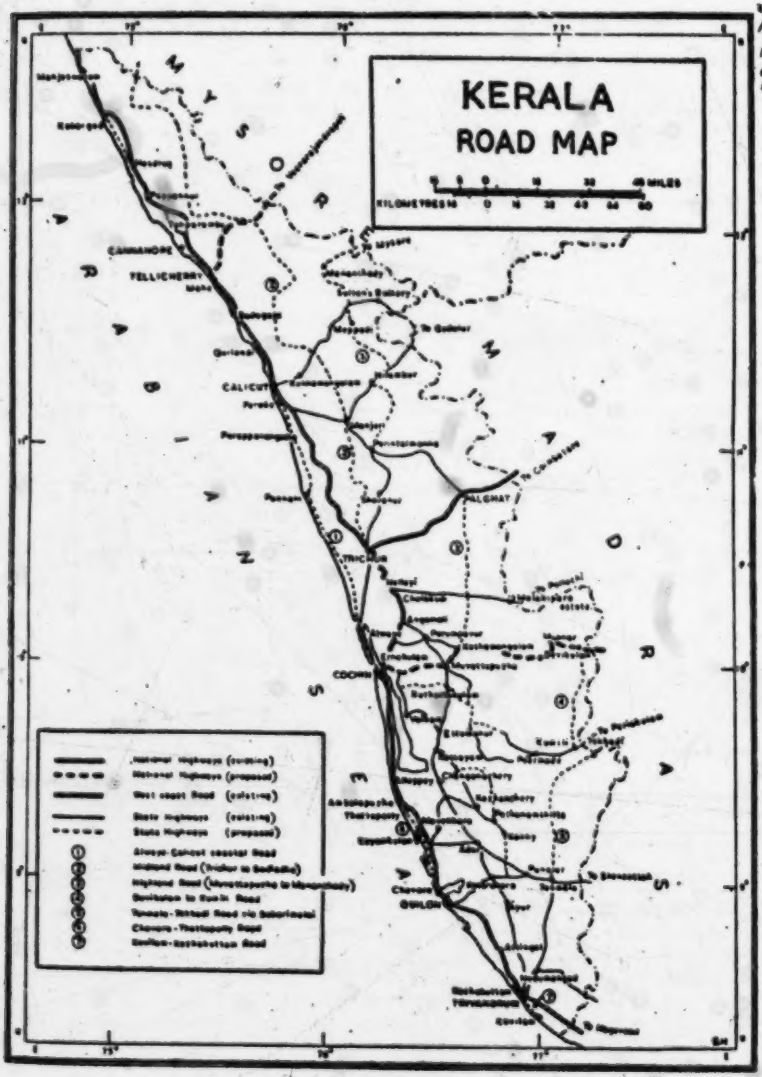
[Text continues on p. 130]

[1] Particulars are set out in Table 6 of the NCAER appraisal report on Transport in Kerala.

[Tables 38 & 39, appearing on p. 295 of the text, have not been procedured -- Analyst]

[P. 129]

MAP 12



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11: India G-4, 5 (1960-1961) 1962 AWII Kerala AWII

491 of traffic on arterial routes (e.g., Coimbatore-Cochin). The opening of Aroor Bridge has failed to attract the high potential of traffic expected between Quilon and Ernakulam, as there are weak bridges at least at three points on the route. As a result of lack of bridges, inter-State traffic between Kasargod and Mangalore has to seek a diversion *via* South Coorg. Apart from this, the need for bypasses, which is felt today in and near Calicut, is likely to become an urgent necessity around every focal point of increased industrial growth, such as Ernakulam, Quilon, Alwaye, Palghat, Trichur, etc.

8.16 Special mention may be made of two vital routes:

(*i*) *Cochin-Coimbatore Road* (*N.H. No. 47*). This road has already become fully saturated with traffic passing between the port of Cochin and the Coimbatore area. The opening of the Mangalapuzha bridge over the Alwaye river has contributed to this saturation to a great extent. Future industrial development and increased traffic at the Cochin port would require the reservation of this road (N.H. No. 47) for fast moving traffic with an additional lane. Infact, even to cater to the present needs, such an arrangement is necessary. Slow moving traffic will have to be diverted to an alternative route from Trichur to Coimbatore *via* Kollengode and Palghat.

(*ii*) *Aroor Bridge—Ernakulam Road*. This length of 9¼ miles of the National Highway is tortuous and incapable of being widened. If it is to cope up with the expanding activities of Cochin area, it will have to be realigned, even before the ship-building yard is located in Cochin. The best plan would be to reclaim land along the coast from Aroor bridge to the site where a bridge is proposed to be constructed near the Thevara College at Ernakulam approximately a distance of four miles, and divert the road on to this reclaimed land; the reclamation will have not only to provide for a road of about 70 ft. width, but could also be used to build a chain of warehouses which are very much in demand. A water frontage to handle the water-borne traffic on this entire four-mile route will also have to be constructed.

ROAD TRANSPORT

493 8.17 The number of mechanized road vehicles in the State—trucks, buses, taxies, private cars, auto-rickshaws, etc.,—has increased sharply from 9,395 in 1956-57 to 23,087 in 1959-60. The number of goods vehicles rose from 2,714 to 5,218, i.e., by 92.2 per cent. But their proportionate share declined, 28.9 per cent of the total number of vehicles, to 22.6 per cent. During the same period, the number of buses increased from 452 to 3,236, that is by over 600 per cent. The percentage to the total number of road vehicles in their case increased from 4.8 per cent to 14 per cent. Passenger transport has thus recorded a striking increase.

8.18 The State has a vehicle density of 2.14 per mile of road, 1.54 per sq. mile of area, and 146.6 per 100,000 of population. The comparative figures for all-India and an industrially advanced State like West Bengal are as follows.

11: India G-4, 5 (1960-1961) 1962 AW11 Kerala AW11

the services, which have declined from Rs. 23.8 lakhs in 1956-57 to Rs. 17.4 lakhs in 1959-60.

8.24 The allotments during the Second Plan for the construction of roads and bridges were Rs. 2.146 crores and Rs. 1.932 crores respectively. The expenditure on roads and bridges in the first four years of the Plan amounted to Rs. 2.871 crores and Rs. 1.041 crores. The expenditure on maintenance in the three years 1956–59 was about Rs. 2.956 crores. The achievement in respect of road construction, improvement and upgrading and construction of major bridges lagged seriously behind targets in the fourth year of the Second Plan.

8.25 The Central Government's expenditure on the construction and improvement of national highways was as follows:

1958-59	Actual	Rs. 11 lakhs
1959-60	Revised Estimate	Rs. 32 lakhs
1960-61	Budget Estimate	Rs. 55 lakhs

8.26 The number of buses and trucks rose sharply in the State during the four years of the Second Plan; but particulars are lacking regarding the amount of public or private investment on vehicles. The nationalized passenger services planned to add 400 buses to the fleet, 300 for rehabilitation and new 160 for operating on a stretch of 400 miles of roads. If achieved, this would involve an investment of the order of Rs. 2 crores. Between 1956-57 and 1958-59 the capital at charge rose by Rs. 78.4 lakhs only.

THE INLAND WATERWAYS

8.27 The inland waterways of the State comprise: (*a*) the west coast canal system, stretching continuously except for a land-locked break between Azhikkal and Badagara (29.5 miles) a distance of over 347 miles from Trivandrum to Hosdurg; (*b*) cross canals, 387 miles long, mostly in the south of the State serving the commercial region in the midlands, and about 521 navigable miles in its various rivers. The Ashtamudi and Vembanad lakes provide extensive navigation facilities for traffic to and from Alleppey, Kottayam, Quilon and Cochin.

8.28 The waterways present a variety of problems though none of them are insuperable. These should be tackled systematically as the waterways promise superior economic advantages. Natural limitations arise from weather and rainfall; most rivers are navigable upto their middle reaches only during the period of the monsoons. In many places they are narrow and shallow (e.g., on the Trivandrum-Quilon route). Dredging is often insufficient and even the dredgers are unsuitable for dredging the narrow sections. Tugging services are required in hazardous areas, e.g., Pathiramanal-Munroe light area in the Vembanad lake. Bridges are often low, as in Varkala and on the Trivandrum-Quilon route, and they do not permit operation, particularly of passenger boats. Landing places have not been provided in many places, and where they are, they are not maintained in proper condition for use. A great drawback of water transport is insecurity and pilferage of the cargo. The

12:Peter E-5 (1939, 1949)1963 AWll Kerala AWll

thorns and planted with big-leaved plantains, flowering bushes such as the hibiscus, and tall, slender arecanut palms, their graceful, shining trunks entwined with betel and pepper creepers. Here and there, a red tiled roof denotes the dwelling of some high-caste person, while elsewhere, the thatched roofs of the ordinary houses reveal the low social status of the majority.

Red laterite dust roads criss-cross this green scenery, highways and lesser paths upon which a continual stream of men and women, scantily clad in white, are forever on the move. Dry river beds in the spring and swollen, muddy torrents in the monsoon season, are crossed together with the broad expanse of calm, smooth backwaters on the way east to the inland red laterite hills. It is here that the majority of the terraced paddy fields are met with, green and flooded in the summer and dried up, with tufts of yellow straw stalks the rest of the year, their fringes strewn with rustling, restless coconut trees.

2. MYTHOLOGICAL BACKGROUND AND HISTORY

Hindu Brahmin tradition has it, so I heard from my informants in this region, that Kerala (*Malayalam* or *Keralabhumi* as it is called in the *Keralolpatti* and *Kerala Mahatmyam* chronicles) was created from the sea by Parasu Raman, the axe-wielding avatar of the god Vishnu, and given to those Brahmins called Nambudri for their perpetual possession and enjoyment. The myth, to which even the modern Hindu inhabitants of Kerala subscribe, is no doubt symbolic of two things: the geological origin of the land at the foot of the Ghats, which appears really to have been uncovered from the sea in some ancient natural upheaval, and the colonization of Kerala by Aryan invaders from the north in a remote and ill-defined past.

The mythological tale, in detail, is that Parasu Raman was once ordered by his father to kill his mother, because the latter had been seen by her husband smiling at a youth when she was fetching water at the well. The son, in filial obedience to his father, carried out the order, but having done so, attempted in every possible way to atone for the abominable crime of matricide. He consulted Brahmins who requested of him that he exterminate twenty two generations of the rival warrior caste of Kshattryas. This he did, but the Brahmins were not satisfied. Parasu Raman then climbed the Western Ghats and, from the highest point, cast his axe into the sea calling upon it to withdraw, which it did. The land of Kerala thus came into existence and Vishnu's avatar, the

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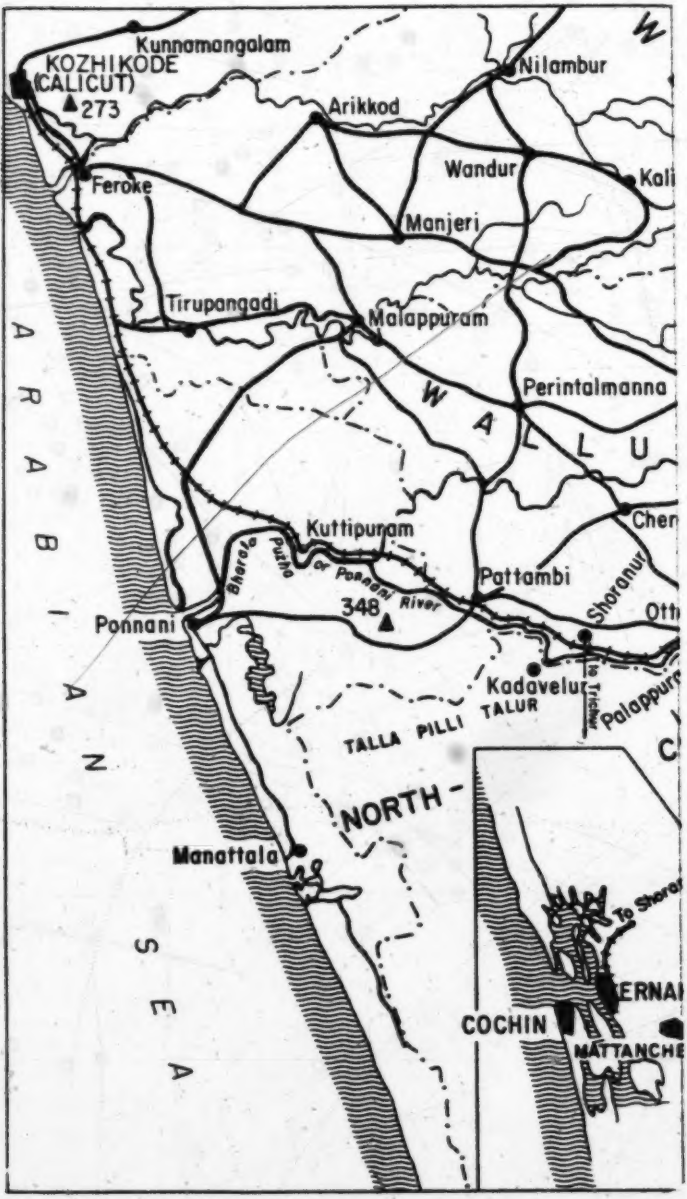
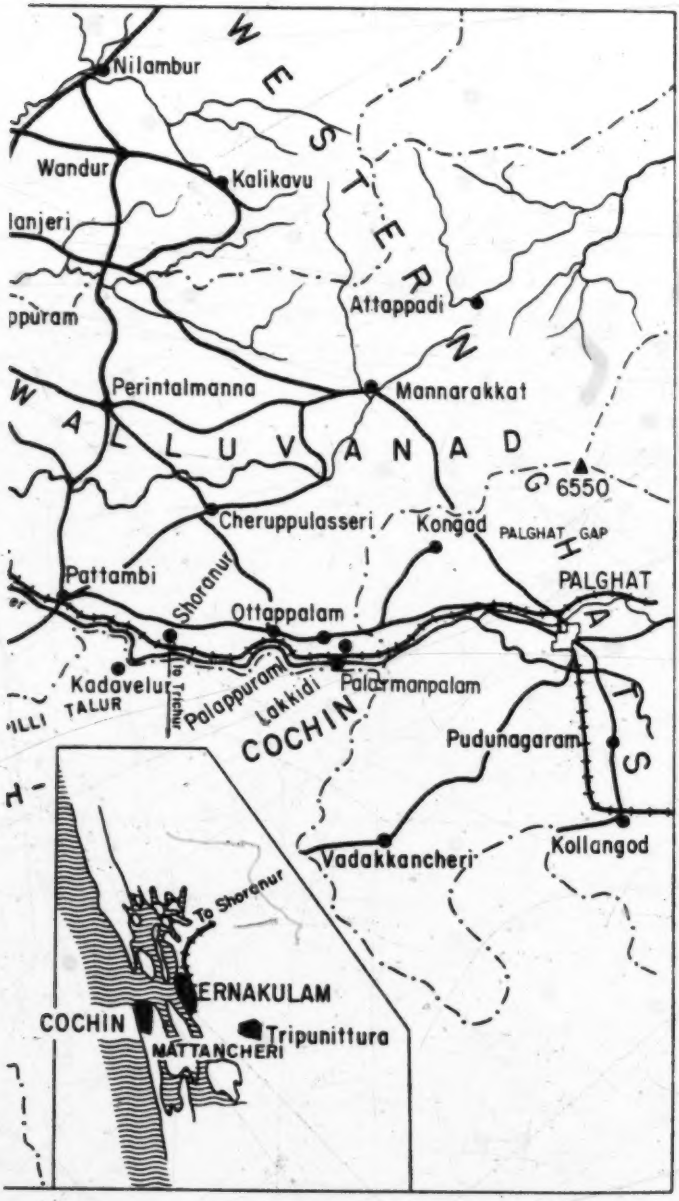


Map II. Map of South Malabar and North Cochin in Kerala.

[facing P. 176-A]



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in in Kerala.

[facing P. 176-B]

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Fig. 5. A typical Kerala landscape: the red laterite dust road passes between green paddy fields; the blue sky is reflected in the water of the irrigation channel by the side of the road.

[708]

Fig. 6. A Christian shrine at a crossroads in Cochin.

[P.238-A]

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AWI India
Kerala AWII

326 [465] father is usually the teacher of his children in the hereditary caste. A good workman can earn from about 8 annas to 10 annas per day.

438 *Village trade.*—Iron ware used for domestic utensils and for agricultural purposes is got from Trichur, the nearest town. There are however a few retail shops in the 'town.' All articles of consumption are bought from retail shops, the retail keepers themselves getting their wares from either Trichur or Palghat.

Rice is the principal commodity. Arecanut and to some extent pepper and bamboos form important items of sale. There is a fair half a mile to the north of the 'town' which meets once a week (every Wednesday), for the sale of arecanut and pepper. Merchants from various parts of Malabar and even from the east of the Ghats come here to buy arecanuts. Vegetables and sundries also are exposed for sale for the use of the villagers only.

361 491 The main metalled road which passes from Shoranur to Trichur passes through the middle of the 'town.' Another road from the west touches the main road to the north of the 'town.' The Shoranur-Cochin Railway touches this place. The commercial town of Trichur is only ten miles to the south.

474 Co-operation in trading as well as in most other affairs is conspicuous by its absence. A Registrar of Co-operative Societies has recently been appointed in the State, and, I am told, gave one or two lectures in the place, but nothing came of it. I have hopes that a co-operative credit society will be started within a few years. I may mention that such credit societies have been opened in three places in the taluk and are receiving much help from the State. The co-operative principle as yet is not extended to trading, but with the development of knowledge and culture this may come.

Economic condition—

465 Statement showing wages (in *money*) for the whole State.

Workers.	Minimum.	Maximum.	Maximum in villages.
	Rs. A.	Rs. A.	Rs. A.
Carpenters	0 6	1 0	0 8
Blacksmiths	0 6	0 12	0 8
Masons	0 6	0 14	0 8
Bricklayers	0 7	0 12	0 8
Sawyers	0 10	1 0	Piece-worker.
Coolies –			
Male	0 4	0 10	0 6
Female	0 3	0 6	0 3
Boys	0 2	0 4	0 2

To Cherumans payment is made in kind (see above). Also wages are paid in kind to agricultural workers in the village area especially during the harvest season.

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AWI India
Kerala AWII

245 eight miles from the village, but the primitive oil mill is chiefly used, worked by two oxen. It is very cheap. Perhaps two rupees would be enough excepting for the oxen.

438 *The village trade.*—The chief articles consumed are rice, fish, vegetables, cereals and spices. The price of the total quantity consumed in the village may be estimated at Rs. 2,50,000, the total sales of the shop being Rs. 3,50,000, of which one lakh is to outsiders.

The quantity of produce taken to the market is not very great. The rice and cereals and spices necessary for consumption come from Palghat and consequently must be bought from the bazaar All other articles that are necessary, e.g., vegetables, fish, salt, chillies, oil, straw, fodder, fuel, etc., are brought to the house by petty traders or by the actual producers. In addition to this there is a weekly fair where local produce to the value of about Rs. 1,000 is sold weekly. A smaller quantity, which may be estimated at Rs. 36,000 per annum, is sold to shopkeepers and they sell to other villages. The people sell to shopkeepers only when they cannot sell in any other way, for the shopkeepers offer only a low price.

491 The main road comes from the Cochin State and passes through the northern and the western side of the village and bends and passes through the southern side. One branch road runs from the west and passes through the centre and ends at the eastern extremity of the village. The road system is not satisfactory. Other branch roads are wanted and those that are made have not been repaired at all for many years, though tolls are collected. People once complained of this to the Taluk Board but to no effect, although thousands of pilgrims visit this place every year on account of the sanctity of the temple. There are numerous by-ways.

498 The nearest railway stations are Pattambi, Trichur, and Watak-
505 kancheri, each twenty miles away. People go to Trichur by boat through the backwaters, and the steam boat that runs from Ponnāni to Tirur is availed of by many and it is cheap. There is backwater communication to Ponnāni and Cochin.

438 Copra, coir, etc., are taken or sent to Cochin and the people get in return rice, cloth, and cereals and other luxuries. Fish can be got from the sea, which is very near the village. The fishermen go every day in the morning and return in the evening.

465 *Economic condition of the village.*—Wages for artisans are always paid in money; for agricultural work both in kind and in money.

Money wages.—The ordinary labourers are always paid in money. In short all those kinds of labour which do not immediately bring fruit to the owner are paid in money. A labourer, for a full day's work, is now paid four annas; five or six years ago three annas. For short work such as carrying weights, etc., the wage is fixed for the moment and will vary according to the distance they have to go, etc. Generally two annas must be paid for one mile as an average. For carrying a bag of rice a high wage is demanded because of high weight.* Woman's labour costs three annas per day now, formerly 2½ annas, a boy's labour 2½ annas now, formerly 2 annas.

Carpenters get six annas a day, boy carpenters three annas, formerly four annas and two annas. Other artisans such as black-

[160 lb.—Ed.]

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AWI India
Kerala AWII

west, and sold there. The profit of the bargain is four annas. Twelve families subsist on this trade. 252

Buttermilk, ghee and butter are made and sold by some families. But this is not a steady trade. It is dependent on cows giving birth. 234

Village trade.—The volume and the extent of village trade is limited; the wants are few and easily satisfied. Paddy seed for cultivation is not purchased but borrowed from the landlord at an interest of sixty per cent. The amount borrowed with the interest thereon is annually given back to the landlord and again borrowed at the sowing season. The borrower is bound to return paddy fit for seeding. 438 426

Other commodities useful for agriculture, such as ropes, vessels used for lifting water, etc., are purchased from the little town of Kunnankulam, eight miles off and belonging to the Native State of Cochin. There is a big bazaar at Kunnankulam where almost all necessaries and luxuries are sold. But the usual market for the village trade is that held on every Thursday at Chalisseri, a large village three miles to the west of Kothachira. People take areca, paddy and other vegetables to this market, get these sold there and with the money thus obtained purchase necessaries; sometimes articles are directly exchanged for paddy. The chief necessaries usually purchased are salt, fish, oil, kerosene, chillis, onions, and cloth to wear. Men and women wear simply one *mundu* around the waist. Hence little clothing is required. 438 443 [291]

Chalisseri is in a way an important place. Much trade in areca is carried on here. The agents of the areca traders of Chalisseri come to each family and purchase directly the quantities each has to sell. The quantity conveyed to market by the ryot himself is not very great. The selling price of areca varies from three to five rupees per tulam (= 25 lb.) according to time and circumstances. The arecanut traders of Chalisseri are absolute masters of this business and often impose their own terms upon the cultivator. After being cut and dried areca is exported by the former into the districts of the east. The best areca grower has sold nuts worth Rs. 400 a year. [435]

The road that runs from the Pattambai railway station to Chowghat passes through Chalisseri. This is the nearest road to Kothachira people. It winds near Kutnad and thus runs parallel to the northern and western boundaries of Kothachira at a distance of two miles from each. A by-road cut from the western arm of the main road to the house of one of the jenmis at his own expense, has long been out of use and is not adapted for public purposes. 491

The idea of co-operation is unknown. A public road opened along the private footpath that runs between Karuvathur, a village six miles to the east of Kothachira, and Chalisseri, would be of immense use to the public of these parts. Much traffic is carried on along this footpath between these places specially on market days. It would run across Peringode and along the boundary between Mathur and Kothachira and thus benefit all these desams. [476]

Economic condition of village.—The economic condition of this desam is rather discouraging. The people are deep in debt, are overworked and underfed and ground down by a double tyranny, the tyranny of the landlord who is also the money-lender, and the tyranny of deep-rooted custom in all their lives and walks. 511

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Sale of village produce.—Paddy, coconuts, bananas, plantains, arecanuts, pepper, vegetables, medicinal plants and roots are sent to market in larger or smaller quantities. 438

Paddy is not taken to the market, but traders come to the houses or the village shop to buy. Pepper is bought by Muhammadan traders early in the season, while not yet ripe, and afterwards sold at a great profit, often 100 or 200 per cent. All the other articles are taken by the producers to the market, chiefly to the Vaniamkulam weekly fair and sold at greater or smaller profit. A part of the produce is consumed in the village.

The trunk road from Palghat to Ponnani passes through the middle of the village. It leads to the two railway stations of Shoranur (the junction for the South Indian Railway and the Cochin Railway) and Pattambi, which are almost equidistant. The road also passes through Vaniamkulam, 6 miles east of the village, where there is the most important fair in Malabar. The town of Ottappālam (where there is a High School and a Munsif's Court) which is a small commercial centre, also lies on the road, some nine miles east of the village. Palghat is thirty miles east. Ponnāni, 22 miles distant, is a small coast town and a commercial centre and it is the western terminus of the road, which is also connected with Angadipuram, the taluk headquarters. The stream which passes through the village is full during the rains and is accessible to boats from the Ponnāni river. Some trade is thus carried on. Carts are the usual vehicles of transport. There are four in the village itself. 491 498

Village trade and consumption.—There is only one important shop in the village and it is therefore possible to get some idea of the amount of commodities bought by villagers from the accounts of the shop. The shop was started in 1892 and was at that time the only one in those parts. Since then a few petty shops have been started, but the business done by them is not very considerable. They deal mostly in those common articles of every-day consumption which are purchased in small quantities from day to day by the poorer classes. On the other hand the one important shop mentioned supplies the needs not only of the inhabitants of this village but of other villages as well. Some allowance must be made on this score when considering the consumption of commodities by this village, so that the total sales of the village shop may not be taken as representing the purchases of the inhabitants of this place. 443 438

The total sales of the shop amount in value to about Rs. 12,000 a year. The chief items are—

	RS.
Paddy	2,500
Salt	2,000
Coconut-oil	1,500
Iron bolts, bars, screws and other metallic articles	1,000
Kerosene oil	750
Tobacco	750
Gingelly oil	500
Dhall, grains, pulses, etc.	1,500
Betel leaves and nuts	500
Castor oil	250
Sugar	200